RRR
ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT
AUGUST 1995 VOLUME VI, NUMBER 8

Classic Rothbard

"Fusionism"

by Murray N. Rothbard

"Fusionism" was originally a creation of the fertile mind of top *National Review* theoretician and editor Frank S. Meyer. It was a call for a unified conservative movement based on a fusing of the previously disparate and seemingly antithetical libertarian and traditionalist wings of the conservative movement. Frank, an old and valued friend and mentor of mine, was basically a libertarian, or a far better term, what we would now call a paleo-libertarian. He believed in reason *and* tradition, believed in individual liberty and the free market, hated the public school system with a purple passion, detested hippie irrationality, believed in an objective ethic, and championed decentralization and states' rights (including those of the Old South) against federal tyranny. He was ardently in favor of, rather than opposed to, Christianity. (See my *Frank S. Meyer: The Fusionist as Libertarian*, 1981, Burlingame, CA: Center for Libertarian Studies, 1985.)

And strategically, Frank strongly opposed from within the Buckley-*National Review* policy of purging the conservative movement of all "extremist" groups: notably, the libertarians, the Birchers, and the Randians. Meyer had the gift of setting forth his own ideological position with great strength and vigor, initiating ideological debates with other conservative thinkers, while at the same time trying to keep together all the factions within the broader movement and maintaining personal friendships with most of the clashing factions. Meyer foresaw that purging extremists would inevitably lead to a conservative movement shorn of all principle except respectability and a seat at the trough of government power.

But there was one great flaw in Meyer's fusionism that proved to be fatal, and destructive of fusionism itself. In an era when many, if not most, conservative intellectuals were defectors from Communism, Frank took pride in being the top cadre Communist of all. A veteran Communist who got his start as organizer at the London School of Economics, Frank was a leading theoretician, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and head of the CP's second leading cadre training school, the Workers' School of Chicago. As a top defector, Frank was deeply committed to total destruction of the God That Failed, up to and including nuclear annihilation of the Soviet Union. Hence, Frank not only disagreed with the Old Right foreign policy of isolationism, his major interest was to reverse it, and he was the most pro-war of all the myriad war hawks of *National Review* and the conservative movement. Being militantly pro-war also meant being in favor of U.S. imperialism and of all-out military statism in the U.S.

Continued on page 3

P.C. Watch

Good O' Boys Roundup

The Treasury Department is investigating a meeting of white police held each spring in the hills of Tennessee, because of reports that BATF agents helped coordinate it.

The "Good O' Boys Roundup," attended by hundreds of state and federal cops, is targeted because someone sold t-shirts featuring a target over Martin Luther King, Jr.'s face, O.J. Simpson's face inside a hangman's noose, and white police standing over a black criminal spread-eagled on a car, with the caption, "Boyz on the Hood." (*Washington Times*, 7/1//95)

Hey, Christians, Take This

Twenty years after its approval by leftist Pope Paul VI, a giant mosque has opened in Rome. Cardinals and other

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

***National Review* Displaced? 6**
by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.
Why We Fight 8
by Michael Levin
The Invisible Right 10
by Paul Gottfried

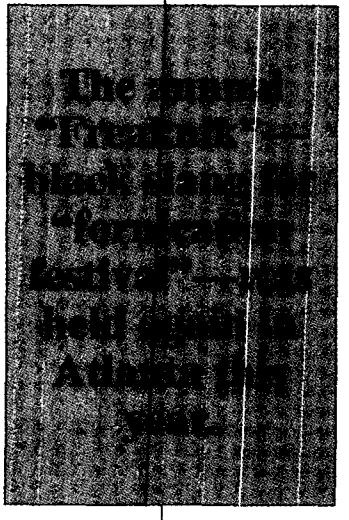
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

church officials attended, and Pope John Paul II "hailed" the event, said the *New York Times* (6/22/95). The "imposing but graceful structure"—actually a monumental and ugly one—was smugly praised by Prince Salman of Saudi Arabia, who said it showed what "can be achieved by believers in God," i.e., unlike the churches of Rome.

"The idea of the mosque first came up in the 1930s, but Mussolini rejected the proposal unless a Roman Catholic Church could open simultaneously in Mecca." Today, Christian houses of worship are still illegal in Saudi Arabia, while the "modest minaret"—actually a massive tower—makes a rude gesture at Christendom.

Freaknik

The annual "Freaknik"—black slang for "fornication festival"—was held again in Atlanta this year. College students from all over the country converged for a three-day party in May, and the official story was that there was not much trouble. Oh, there were a few rapes and killings, and the mall called Underground Atlanta was terrorized and robbed, but the official line was that any problems were due to the natural black reaction to unfriendly whites.



After the public sex, public defecation, public drunkenness, looting, and vandalism of last year—none of which was reported in the *Atlanta Constitution* or other members of the free press—the black mayor of Atlanta had tried to disinvite the Freaknikkers for 1995. Cries of "racism" forced him to back down, but fewer kids showed up. There were still horrendous traffic jams, wrecked hotel rooms, streetcorner intercourse, and frequent non-payment at local restaurants, but it seemed to have been less troublesome than 1994.

Now I discover what happened to a department store near the East Point area of greater Atlanta. There was the usual sex, drinking, and loud music in the parking lot. Then, as soon as the store closed, members of the crowd rammed their pickup trucks and cars into the plate glass windows, entered the store, and—starting with the perfume counter—proceeded to steal everything down to the manikins. The looting only stopped when someone fired a shotgun into the air and all the thieves ran out. (A store manager, who had been called by the *two* security guards on duty, is thought to have been the shotgunner, but he denies it. He would get into trouble for such an un-p.c. act, of course.)

It's clear that the store had only two security guards on duty because more of a presence would have been "racist." But the police never showed up. Nor was the incident mentioned in the press. What else wasn't?

Rumors abound that the police were ordered to look the other way during Freaknik "to prevent riots," which might have diminished attendance at the 1996 Olympics. Did they also ignore burglar alarms at a major store?

A note on the Olympics. All the most sought-after tickets were long ago allotted to politicians and big corporate sponsors like Coca Cola. As for me, I'm only taking my daughter to the equestrian events, which will be held a long way from the "city too busy to hate."

The Fruit

The owner of the Westcliff Mall in a black area of Dallas, rather than depending on the almost useless government police, hired security guards from the Nation of Islam. When four black boys, ages 12 to 16, stole a cash register from Susie's Collectibles, the black Muslims went into action.

They found one boy, who quickly confessed and turned in the others. The guards then questioned all four, lectured them on the sin of theft, and made them run naked through a gauntlet of men who spanked them with their belts. Oh yes, the guards also recovered the cash register and the money inside it, and returned it to the store.

This is how a criminal justice system is supposed to work: swift, sure, and humiliating punishment for transgressors against private property. So naturally, when the Dallas police found out about the theft, they went into action, and arrested the guards.

"Not even parents have the legal right to discipline their kids to this extent," a police spokesman told the *New York Times* (6/16/94). "They held the kids and they punished them and violated the law."

Four Nation of Islam guards have been charged with aggravated kidnapping, and are being held on $100,000 bail. The police are looking for more, with the energy they seem to display only against the private competition.

The kids "were whipped because they did wrong," said Derick B. Hopins, one of the jailed guards. "They broke in here. Therefore, they were disciplined. We take care of our own." Like the other guards, he faces a minimum sentences of five years in prison.

The young criminals were tut-tutted over. After the black Muslims were through with them, these kids might have thought twice about committing another crime. Not now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Color of Crime

Joycelyn Elders, ex-Surgeon General, recently told the Youth Summit of the Alabama Southern Christian Leadership Conference, that "America's bright young people are in an ocean surrounded by the sharks of drugs and alcohol." We must "get into our canoes and go into the ocean to save the most valuable resource we have." Homicide is the largest single cause of death among young black men, virtually all killed by other young black men. "We're killing each other. We've got to stop." (*Birmingham News*, 7/2/95). Notice that, as usual, black on white crime—the vast majority of interracial crime—is not even deplored. We are only to worry about blacks killing blacks, or whites killing blacks, not blacks killing whites, which is only what they've got coming.

The Heart of Rock 'n Roll

Stephen Prouse, costume curator of the new Rock & Roll Hall of Fame and Museum in Cleveland, bragged to *Rolling Stone* magazine that all his dummies will have genitals. "It's a first in the field," said mannequin-maker Ralph Pucci, who tried to talk Prouse out of the move. But Prouse said, "rock and roll is about sex." There will be more than 90 dummies, each wearing the costume of a particular freak. The Axl Rose dummy is "instantly recognizable," says *Rolling Stone*, by, among other attributes, the "pierced hole in its nipple." (*Birmingham Post-Herald*, 6/20/95)

Huh?

When a client fired a lawyer for the wrong reason, a federal court in New York ruled that the lawyer could sue. The client, a businessman in Las Vegas, was told by his advisors that it would be a mistake to have a "New York Jew" represent him in a certain matter, and he made the mistake of telling his lawyer.

Even though a contract between an attorney and a client is "terminable at will by the client," it cannot be "terminated for a discriminatory reason." (*Lawyers Weekly USA*, 6/5/95)

I'm Sorry for *Your* Sins

What's with the trend of repenting and apologizing for other people's sins, real and alleged? The latest practitioner is the Southern Baptist Convention, which condemned its slave-owning forebears and racist ancestors. It would have been far more impressive if they had lamented their own sins, but such is not the style.

By the way, isn't defaming our forefathers a violation of the commandment to honor our father and mother? They were undoubtedly sinners, like all of us, but we are still to reverence them. Spitting on the graves of our ancestors is hardly a Christian act.—L.H.R., Jr. ■

Every variety of Marxian socialist, whether right-wing Trotskyite, Menshevik, Lovestonite, or Social Democrat, was able to enter and infect the conservative movement.

Continued from page 1

Frank Meyer's devotion to the global crusade against Communism and the Soviet Union did not only poison the conservative movement's explicit foreign and military programs. For it lead Frank, even though personally strongly anti-socialist, to embrace warmly as comrades any wing of socialists who were defectors from or converts to anti-Communism. In short, Frank's strategic focus, The Enemy for him and for the conservative movement, was not statism and socialism but Communism. Hence, it was under Frank's theoretical and strategic aegis that the conservative movement rushed to welcome and honor any species of dangerous socialist so long as they were certifiably anti-Communist or anti-Soviet.

Under this capacious umbrella, every variety of Marxian socialist, whether right-wing Trotskyite, Menshevik, Lovestonite, or Social Democrat, was able to enter and infect the conservative movement. The invasion and conquest of the conservative movement by Truman-Humphrey social democrats calling themselves "neo-conservatives" happened after Frank's death; but the way had been paved for that conquest by the uncritical embrace of anti-Stalinist socialists that Meyer's theoretical and strategic vision had called for and orchestrated. And so tragically, Meyer's fusionist doctrine had paved the way for its own destruction; for the tough Marxist and Leninist-trained neocons were able, by paying lip service to such venerable conservative principles as the free market, to destroy Meyer's own conservative guiding principles and replace them by warmed-over social democracy in the guise of "neo-conservatism," "global democracy," "the Opportunity Society," "progressive conservatism," or whatever other slogan of the moment might prove opportune.

In opposing the old fusionism, I tried vainly to argue with conservatives that the Enemy was not Communism or the Soviet Union but statism and socialism, and that once one embraces that wider vision, it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would become clear that the main enemy of both American liberty and traditional Americanism resided not in Moscow or Havana but in Washington, D.C.

The Main Menace: From Communism to Social Democracy

Whether or not I was right about the Soviet/Communist menace, and I still believe that I was, the course of human events has, thank goodness, now made that argument obsolete and antiquarian. The sudden and heart-warming death of Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe put an end to the Communist menace. We have stressed in these pages the enormous implications of this revolutionary event for our foreign and military policy, and for making viable, more than ever, the Old Right policy of "isolationism."

But another vital aspect of this new post-Communist world is that The Enemy of liberty and tradition is now revealed full-blown: social democracy. For social democracy in all of its guises is not only still with us and has proved longer-lived than its cousin, Communism, but now that Stalin and his heirs are out of the way, social democrats are trying to reach for total power. They have to be stopped, and one of the objectives of the new fusionism of the paleo-libertarian and conservative movement is indeed to put a stop to them.

The main enemy of both American liberty and traditional Americanism resided not in Moscow or Havana but in Washington, D.C.

At the end of World War II, at a moment in history when social democrats and Communists were allied, what is now called "the new world order" was already prepared for us. The idea was that a new United Nations, the old League of Nations plus enforcement power, would function as an effective world government in the form of a condominium of the world's superpowers, those blessed with a permanent seat and a permanent veto on the Security Council; the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. The United States, in short, was to run this world government in collaboration with its junior partner, the U.S.S.R. But the Cold War split the superpowers apart, and as a consequence the U.N. was reduced to the status of a debating society, and became an institution hated and reviled both by the conservatives and by social democrats. But now that Communism and the Cold War are ended, the U.N. is back, hailed as the governor of the new world order by a conservative movement that has now been captured and ruled by the social democrat neo-cons.

Social democrats are all around us, and so it is all too easy to discern their reaction to the great problems of the post-Cold War era. Whether calling themselves neo-conservatives or neo-liberals, they stand four-square in favor of statism in every instance: that is, strongly opposed to isolationism and in favor of U.S. intervention and war, almost as a high principle; and secondly, as bitter opponents of the ethnic nationalisms liberated at long last by the collapse of centralizing communism. Read a social democrat anywhere, and you will find hysterical attacks on nationalisms and national aspirations as against centralism everywhere, whether it be in Poland, Croatia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, or the Russian Republic. And the great smear whether it be within the United States or against emerging Eastern European nations, is almost invariably to raise the specter of "anti-Semitism," to wield against nationalists or isolationists.

In short, on all crucial issues, social democrats stand against liberty and tradition, and in favor of statism and Big Government. They are more dangerous in the long run than the Communists not simply because they have endured, but also because their program and their rhetorical appeals are far more insidious, since they claim to combine socialism with the appealing virtues of "democracy" and freedom of inquiry.

For a long while they stubbornly refused to accept the libertarian lesson that economic freedom and civil liberties are of a piece; but now, in their second line of retreat, they give lip service to some sort of "market," suitably taxed, regulated, and hobbled by a massive welfare-warfare State. In short, there is little distinction between modern social democrats and the now-discredited "market socialists" of the 1930s who claimed to have solved the fatal flaw of socialism first pointed out by Ludwig von Mises; the impossibility of socialist planners calculating prices and costs, and therefore planning a functioning modern economy.

In the collectivist arsenal of the world of the 20th century there used to be various competing statist programs: among them, Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and Social Democracy. The Nazis and Fascists are long dead and buried; Communism is not quite fully buried but is still dead as a doornail. Only the most insidious remains: social democracy. Amidst a liberal culture captured by crazed leftist social programs, with a conservative movement lying supine before the social democrat neocons, only the paleo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Fusionists are rising up to thwart social democrat plans for total power, domestic and foreign.

But why are the regnant social democrats worried and trembling of the upsurge of the New Fusionism of paleo-conservatives and paleo-libertarians?—and believe me they are. It is obviously not because of our formal numbers or our limited access to funding. The reason is that the social democrats and their ilk know full well that we express the deepest albeit unarticulated beliefs of the mass of the American people.

Clever and cynical control of the opinion-molding media and of once-conservative money sources are what enable a remarkably small group of energetic social democrats to dominate the conservative movement and to battle, often successfully, for the levers of power in Washington. But they are vastly outnumbered if only the American people were clued in to what is going on, and that is why the social democrats fear our seemingly small movement. What we need to learn is how to mobilize the overwhelming support of the mass of Americans, and thus to undercut, or short-circuit, their domination by a small number of opinion-molding leaders.

The Litmus Test: Sidney Hook

If my characterization of neo-cons and neo-liberals as essentially social democrats seems exaggerated, let us ponder the status of undoubtedly the most beloved figure among all these groups, as well as in the modern conservative movement: the late Sidney Hook. Long a fixture at the conservative Hoover Institution, Hook was everywhere, at every conservative intellectual gathering or organization, his every word and pronouncement hailed adoringly by all respectable folk from the AFL-CIO to the *New Republic* through *National Review* and points right. (Indeed the *New Republic* has recently canonized Sidney in a worshipful elegy.) Sometimes it seemed that only Communists or thereabouts could possibly have a sour word to say for Hook.

What made Sidney Hook so universally beloved, so seemingly above the merest hint of criticism? Surely it was not his personality, which was neither particularly lovable nor charismatic. Indeed, in his enormously overpraised autobiography, *Out of Step*, Hook reveals himself as a petty, self-absorbed prig.

There used to be various competing statist programs. Only the most insidious remains: social democracy.

The book is filled with brusque and remarkably unperceptive dismissals of his old friends and acquaintances, none of whom seemed to be worthy of Hook's alleged wisdom and advice. Take, for example, Hook's portrayal of his long-time colleagues at *Partisan Review*, once the quasi-Trotskyite, modernist center of American literary and intellectual life. That chapter is typical of this dull, flat, and monotonic book. Every one of his old colleagues is depicted as an unintelligent, quasi-ignorant dolt, all of whom stubbornly failed to follow Hook's invariably wise counsel. Hook comes across as petty, peevish, narrow, and self-important, lacking either wit or insight, either into his friends or into the world at large.

Neither can Sidney's popularity be explained by the greatness or profundity of his intellectual contributions. In political philosophy, he was a simple-minded pragmatist and social democrat, solving all social problems with the fetish of "majority rule" and "democracy." Knowing the cliches of pragmatism and social democracy he mastered little else, whether of economics, esthetics, history, or any other discipline.

What distinguished Sidney Hook was, first, that he was an ex-Communist, not since the 1930s like his colleagues, but way back, from the 1920s. In short, the older and precocious Hook was a Communist from his adolescence. Despite the story in his self-serving memoir, he remained close to the CP for a long time, on into the late 1930s. Contrary to his grotesque title, Sidney all of his life was *In Step*, always being among the first to adopt the newest intellectual fashion. In that way, he showed himself to be a good "intellectual entrepreneur."

Communist, Hegelian, Deweyite, Trotskyite, defender of World War II, anti-Communist after the war, *Partisan Review*nik, and finally extreme right-wing social democrat, Hook veered and tacked with the intellectual fashions, and on into the "left" fringes of neo-conservatism and the conservative movement. More honest than his colleagues, he referred to himself candidly until the end as a Marxist and as a socialist. It is a measure of the intellectual and political degeneration of the modern conservative movement that Sidney put no one off by his lifelong avowal of Marxism.

Thus, Sidney Hook, the Nestor of social democracy, was in his own unimpressive person the living embodiment of what the conservative movement has become: i.e., the disastrous subordination of every cherished principle to the slogan of "anti-Communism," and hence the permanent embrace of war and statism. One's attitude toward Sidney Hook, only recently deceased, therefore provides a convenient litmus test on whether someone is a genu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ine conservative, a paleo, or some form of neo. Needless to say, all the New Fusionists are anti-Hook to the core.

It is important to consider a final point on Hook and modern conservatism. In his odious book of the early Cold War, *Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No*, Hook set forth a theoretical justification for an assault upon civil liberties and academic freedom. Heresy is OK and deserves the right to dissent, maintained Hook, but "conspiracy" is subversive and evil and has no rights, and therefore it is legitimate and necessary for government to crack down upon them.

Ask not for whom the neocon bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Note that this is a crack-down upon speech, press, and teaching, and not upon actions such as concrete plots to overthrow the State. The overt use of this doctrine by Hook and the social democrats was to enable purges of Communists. But what was overlooked at the time was Hook's general theory of "conspiracy" which included, not simply Communists, but anyone whose mind, according to Hook, was enthralled to some sort of external cadre, some organization external to the person or to the university where he teaches. Such a theory could just as readily be used, e.g., to bar Jesuits from teaching as it would Communists.

All this fits with an important insight of paleocon political theorist and historian Professor Paul Gottfried: that the social-democrat/neocon assault on free speech and free press "absolutism," and their insistence instead on the importance of "democratic values," constitutes an agenda for eventually using the power of the State to restrict or prohibit speech or expression that neocons hold to be "undemocratic."

This category could and would be indefinitely expanded to include: real or alleged Communists, leftists, fascists, neo-Nazis, secessionists, "hate thought" criminals, and eventually... paleo-conservatives and paleo-libertarians. God knows which individuals and groups might eventually come under the "undemocratic" rubric, and therefore become subject to neocon/social democrat crackdown. To paraphrase an old leftist-interventionist slogan of the 1930s and 1940s: ask not for whom the neocon bell tolls; it tolls for thee.■

The late Murray N. Rothbard wrote the article from which this is extracted in January 1991, in the course of celebrating the "New Fusionism" of paleo-conservatives and paleo-libertarians in the John Randolph Club. It is just a taste of the forthcoming 1,000-page Rothbard Reader. *Watch this space. Ed.*

National Review Displaced?

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

People sometimes wonder why the *RRR* is so tough on the neoconservatives. But despite all claims, we are not brothers under the skin, but adversaries to the bone. We oppose the welfare state they want to guide and direct. We oppose the taxes they want to shift around from group to group. We oppose the wars in which they want to send American kids to die. We oppose the international government they are erecting in the form of the UN, the World Bank, the IMF, Nafta, Gatt, and the G7.

Most of all, we oppose their version of political correctness, which requires us to be somewhere to the Right of Bill Clinton but definitely to the Left of Pat Buchanan. And under neoconservative political doctrine, we are never allowed to long for a return to the past, and certainly not to the pre-New Deal era. The neocons are ardent New Dealers and Roosevelt worshippers to a man.

Our opposition doesn't surprise them, of course. The reason the neocons decided to pitch their tents in the Republican Party was to channel the alleged extremism of the average Republican voter into a respectable social-democratic framework. That is why they turn their guns Right as well as Left. The party line they seek to enforce emanates from Manhattan and Washington, D.C., and practically nowhere else.

Lacking numbers and authentic grassroots support, the neocons exercise their power and influence not only through spending and scheming, but through constant public agitation. They thrive by being the sole voice of "conservatism" on the op-ed pages and in the magazine racks.

Despite their magazines and respectability, however, the neocons have lacked a weekly on the order of the *New Republic* (which they pretend to disagree with). That is the purpose of the *Standard*, a national weekly lavishly funded by soft-porn merchant Rupert Murdoch (who is also Newt Gingrich's *padron*), and the large neoconservative foundations originally set up by Old Right donors.

The first issue of the *Standard* is not due until the fall, but it's not too early to start despising it. The magazine is edited by William Kristol, the liberal media's favorite conservative. Working at the behest of his father and his sponsors, Bill

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

helped snuff out the fires of revolution within the Republican Party. After pushing for the passage of Gatt in the lame-duck session, in January he demanded a go-slow approach on cutting government that marginalized the freshmen and put the old-guard leadership in total control.

The *Standard* has bought Fred Barnes away from the *New Republic*, David Brock away from the *Wall Street Journal*, and John Podhoretz away from unemployment. And every policy hack in D.C. Republican circles is dreaming he'll get a call from Bill to be a big-shot journalist. No doubt about it, thanks to money and media power, the *Standard* will immediately become the most prominent publication on the political Right. Every issue is guaranteed to be a pain in neck.

Yet there is an upside to the *Standard*. It will displace *National Review* as the conservative flagship. (A note to real Americans: yes, *National Review* is still being published in Manhattan, and every two weeks.) A great deal of rivalry between the two journals has already sparked some heated exchanges. But they might as well cool it: *National Review* may soon be History, a fate it deserves.

Let's open up a typical issue and see why it should be even more marginal than it is. I'm looking at July 10, 1995, which is devoted to a *faux* debate whether the federal government needs more "surveillance powers" to "combat terrorist activity." Pro: lead article, four pages long, plus graphic. Con: one and a half pages, no graphic.

The editors weigh in with this riveting comment: "Give law-enforcement agencies the powers they need to protect society while keeping a careful watch on them and investigating abuses like Waco...." For statist insights like that we pay $2.95?

Remember the funny cracks at the front of the magazine? Joe Sobran used to write them, and they were brilliant. Now they are both stupid and evil. Here's the opener of this issue:

> A member of a state militia told a congressional committee the government is conspiring to change the weather. Is this the same government that can barely conspire to deliver the mail?

That's not even slightly funny. The *New York Times* would agree with its sentiments, but its editors would know better than to publish such amateurish prose. Or are we supposed to congratulate *National Review* for having the courage to criticize the post office?

The Rev. Richard John Neuhaus writes an article called "Anti-Semitism and Our Common Future," a direct rip-off of Paul Gottfried's cover story in the June 1995 *RRR*. No attribution, of course. And also of course, Neuhaus's article is far less principled.

In the end, Neuhaus ends up criticizing the Christian Right for inviting the attacks leveled against them by the ADL and its cohorts, while Gottfried blasts the Christian Coalition for groveling to its opponents. But I guess you can't expect grovelers to condemn groveling.

Yet there is an upside to the *Standard*. It will displace *National Review* as the conservative flagship.

Finally, we get the usual witty exchanges between Bill Buckley and his groupies. Some Capitol Hill boob writes in to say he is Buckley's "greatest fan." He concerned that the John Birch Society, "the mindless sect to which I thought you had administered the *coup de grâce* several decades ago," seems to have taken over Young Americans for Freedom. YAFers now regard Buckley as a traitor, on grounds that he smeared Buchanan, belongs to the CFR, and supports gay rights, gun control, national service, civil rights, higher taxes, etc.

Buckley responds in typically shoddy fashion, raising again the charge that the Birch Society thought Eisenhower a secret commie. As readers of Justin Raimondo's *Reclaiming the American Right* know, however, Buckley attacked the Birchers when they became vocal opponents of the Vietnam War, and thereby threatened to split the Right on the question of the Cold War in general. *That's* why Buckley expelled them, and why he continues to denounce any isolationism on the Right.

But, again, why should anyone pay $2.95 to hear the same old baloney? Buckley hasn't had a new idea in thirty years.

Some may say that it is better to have ineffective and irrelevant neocon publications like *National Review* (which is also the most chaotically designed magazine outside of the Third World) than well-produced periodicals like the *Standard*.

I see the point, but there is also the matter of simple justice. For its history of purges, misrepresentations, plagiarisms, smears, lies, and slanders, *National Review* deserves to go out of business.

NR was founded by phony Brit (and real CIA agent) Buckley, with the assistance of Bill Casey and other CIA assets, and named after a 19th-century British imperialist magazine. Its purpose was identical to the central government's—which some people suspect funded it through "black" accounts: to destroy the Old Right and enlist the conservative movement in the service of the warfare

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state. The magazine largely succeeded, but not permanently.

In a famous *Commonweal* article, Buckley admitted advocating a "totalitarian bureaucracy" to fight the Soviet basketcase. But with Communism gone, Buckley and his magazine want to keep the totalitarian bureaucrats fully funded and empowered, showing that his motives had nothing to do with the Reds, and everything to do with the state.

So here's to the *Standard*, for the much-needed *coup* it is about to administer. We've got plenty of time to oppose the new enemy.■

Honesty about race *is* going to hurt. But justice comes before feelings, and the truth is vital for justice.

Why We Fight

by Michael Levin

Those who like myself discuss race differences openly are often asked why we do so. Why not leave this sticky topic in discreet silence? Those who study race from pure intellectual curiosity—a good motive in its own right—tend to give two answers to this question, neither of which strike me as satisfying or fully candid.

One is that race differences, being statistical, imply nothing about individuals, hence no black need take offense when someone says blacks are on average less intelligent than whites. The fact is that people identify with their ethnic groups. Most Jews, although they have not personally won Nobel Prizes, are pleased by the number of Jewish Nobel laureates. Because genes are so intimately related to personal identity, people are particularly touchy about innate group characteristics.

These feelings may be irrational, but their biological roots run deep: those with whom you share ancestors (for biologists your "race") also share your genes, so it is in your genetic interest to protect them. There was almost certainly selection for genes that make people take criticism of their race as a personal attack. Let's not pretend this emotion isn't there, or that people can be talked out of it.

The second, ultra-empiricist reply is that calling a group less intelligent is no criticism. Intelligence is a purely objective trait; having less of it does not make a group *inferior*, any more than having a particular blood type does. Logically this is correct, but it overlooks a second psychological fact, that most people do value intelligence and care very much about not being thought stupid.

Try to tell a child with miserable grades, "The other kids are smarter than you, Tommy, but that doesn't make them better." Tommy knows the smart kids get the prizes, so he will not only be unconsoled, he will probably consider you mealy-mouthed to boot. Intelligence matters to people; let's not pretend talking about IQ is like talking about blood types.

In other words, honesty about race *is* going to hurt. But justice comes before feelings, and the truth about race is vital for justice. Let me explain by an analogy.

Suppose John Smith limps into a court of law one day, displays a badly misshapen leg, accuses you of having broken it, and demands $5 million in compensation. You are just starting to plan your defense when the judge lays down an extraordinary rule. You will be allowed to say on your own behalf that $5 million will ruin you, that the injury is too old to oblige anyone to make amends now, and that it was your parents, not you personally, who broke Smith's leg. You are even permitted to argue that a large settlement will harm Smith, by curbing his zeal to rehabilitate himself and stigmatizing him as a cripple. *But you are forbidden to show that Smith's deformity is not your fault or your family's, and above all you must not try to show that Smith's deformity is congenital, hence no one's fault at all.*

As you splutter, the judge explains. Smith, it seems, is sensitive about his leg. He doesn't like to be reminded of it, and he becomes hurt and embarrassed when anyone brings it up. In fact, the judge concludes, the evidence submitted at trial should ideally be confined to the consequences of Smith's condition, like his difficulty in climbing stairs and the discrimination he faces from track and field organizations. The less said about...you know, *it*...the better.

Presented with this bizarre restriction, you would want to know why, if Smith doesn't want his leg mentioned, he is suing you for damaging it. *He* is the one who has brought it up. In legal jargon, he has opened the door to questions he may find unpleasant. If he doesn't want his leg discussed, he shouldn't have accused anyone of damaging it. Your right of self-defense includes the right to cite evidence it may grieve your accuser to hear.

The situation I have described parallels the situation white men

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

find themselves in vis-a-vis blacks and women. They are constantly accused of all manner of crimes against those two groups, and are said to owe compensation for the harm they have done. Focusing just on race to keep the issues clear, this compensation takes innumerable forms. Whites are passed over in favor of less qualified blacks for jobs and admission to college. Tests are calibrated to boost black scores. Free-market theory, of course, recognizes the right to favor women or blacks or Martians if an employer chooses to, *and* the right to favor whites as well.

Freedom of association includes the freedom to discriminate. But the state has intervened and taken sides, both by permitting private discrimination against whites only, and by discriminating against whites in its own right. Courts mandate quotas. At all levels of government set-asides and affirmative-action rules reserve jobs, contracts, and licenses for blacks, and, by not requiring "minority-owned firms" to submit lowest bids, force taxpayers to subsidize this discrimination.

As the accused, whites have a right to defend themselves. How? To say that affirmative action undermines merit and costs a fortune (Peter Brimelow has put the annual bill near $300 billion) tacitly concedes guilt and, rhetorically, cannot match "our ancestors were brought here as slaves."

Protesting that the current white victims of affirmative action never harmed anyone is met by the reply that all whites benefit indirectly from past discrimination, the proof being that blacks do so much less well than whites. The one plea that pierces the rhetorical fog to the heart of the matter is a flat-out "Not guilty." Whites did not engineer the advantages they enjoy, and therefore have nothing to compensate blacks for.

The prosecution tirelessly repeats *that* whites do better than blacks by every measure—education, income, marital stability—when the issue is *why* this is so; however deplorable the conditions of blacks may be, if whites didn't create it, they should not be called upon to fix it. Only by pressing the why-question can justice be served.

There is much evidence that whites as a group outperform blacks because, on average, they are more intelligent and have lower time preferences. Since a reasonably high level of intelligence as measured by IQ is necessary for success at virtually any job, the proportion of job incumbents who are black is bound to be lower than the proportion of the general population which is black.

Independently, Herrnstein and Murray and myself have estimated that, for most jobs, the proportion of black incumbents became "correct"—was commensurate with the race difference in IQ—sometime after World War II. After that, blacks became overrepresented.

It was not white racism that forced these topics into the open, but the demonization of whites by black activists and white liberals.

Likewise, the failure of black to embrace the "work ethic" reflects a concern with immediate goods at the expense of remote ones, not discrimination. Similar remarks apply to academic success.

All right, but why attribute these race differences to genes? Isn't it enough to note the importance to attainment of intelligence and motivation, and the racial gap in these traits?

No. Leaving the case for the defense at that instantly triggers the reply—I speak from experience—that black IQs are low and time preferences high because of racism.

The white medical establishment, it is said, denies black mothers information about nutrition for their babies, whose mental growth is stunted (as if caring for black children is the job of white doctors and public health officials—but let that go).

Teachers expect blacks to fail. Racial barriers make long-range plans pointless. Sneaker ads tell black kids to "just do it." Etc. Whites can fend off responsibility only by insisting—as the evidence warrants—that race differences in the factors behind success are largely genetic in origin. Whites did not cause black failure directly, or indirectly.

I've already agreed, even insisted, that these topics are painful. But remember that in the present era it was not white racism that forced them into the open, but the demonization of whites by black activists and white liberals. If liberals want to know who to blame, they can begin by looking in the mirror.

In some ways the charge against whites resembles a paternity suit, in which a man is asked, not to pay some fixed amount for damages, but to assume an open-ended burden for a good part of his life.

It would be strange of a man facing a paternity suit not to demand a blood test, even if the results might chagrin the lady in question. It would be equally strange of whites badgered for reparations not to pursue innate race differences, however upsetting what they find.■

Michael Levin is professor of philosophy at the City College of New York and author of the forthcoming Why Race Matters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Invisible Right

by Paul Gottfried

The image of the American Negro as an "invisible man," popularized in the fifties by Ralph Ellison, might now be applied, with equal warrant, to another group, American paleos.

Like the blacks Ellison depicted forty years ago, the non-neocon Right is studiously ignored in the mainstream press. To speak of this Right is not to mean that amorphous mass of militiamen who on the evening news take the form of the Waffen-SS returned. Nor are we referring to radio talk show hosts accused of inciting race wars, by appealing to angry white men.

The Right as here understood are the dissenting scholars and journalists who as recently as three years ago were thought to be making the U.S. isolationist and xenophobic. Some were—and still are — advisors to presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan; and in his recently published anthology, *American First*, Bill Kauffman reminds us of the hellstorm unleashed in 1992 by the "Cerberus-like guardians of respectable opinion" against Buchanan and the paleos.

If, according to Kauffman, the thunderous "reaction to Buchanan spoke volumes about the ruling classes," how do we explain the impenetrable silence shown by the same classes toward the same candidate three years later?

Buchanan stands in second place among Republican presidential candidates; yet until the appearance of the July 3 issue of *Time*, he was getting about as much press coverage as Lamar Alexander and far less than Phil Gramm or Colin Powell, both of whom trail him in most polls.

The July 15 syndicated column by movement conservative Jeffrey Hart does not even mention Buchanan in a survey of Republican candidates. In Hart's mind, or in that of his sponsors, Buchanan is less presidential than wannabe candidate Allan Keyes, whose only visible following is the neocon press.

Though the one-page story in *Time* admitted what movement conservatives have tried hard to ignore, that Buchanan is in second place, it also belabored both his extremism and non-electability. It quoted Ralph Reed on the second point and presented Buchanan as the stalking horse of Bob Dole. According to this account, Dole's supporters were encouraging Buchanan to stay in the race so that their own candidate might seem "reasonable by comparison."

In Jeffrey Hart's mind, or in that of his sponsors, Buchanan is less presidential than wannabe candidate Allan Keyes.

From the liberal-neocon perspective, paleos should not be around. As Kauffman notes, they instinctively resist "globalist schemes" and may be groping, despite powerful opposition, toward reassembling an old republican alliance, which would "champion the small against the large, the parochial against the cosmopolitan."

To the extent that such republican throwbacks refuse to fade, it is necessary to keep pushing them down, and at least three strategies have been attempted to achieve the desired goal of marginalization. The most obvious and most current is to ignore the adversary entirely. This strategy has been carried to an art form by Irv Kristol, who never mentions the word "paleo" in his divagations on the American Right in the *Wall Street Journal*.

The neoconservative Urtype Irv does mention are instantiated by his buddies and clients; e.g. the economic conservatism of the Manhattan Institute and the *Wall Street Journal*-editorial board, and the social conservatism of Mike Novak, Bill Bennett, and Ralph Reed.

Such isms and church doctors are allowed to debate in the ecclesiastical world as conceived by the self-proclaimed conservative pope and AEI-"scholar," Kristol the First.

A recent replication of the Kristol-kind of survey of offshoots and dependents of the neocons is an essay by John Judis in *GQ* (May 1995). Beside the self-congratulatory portraits of neocon foundation heads and a photo of Kristol the Second apparently lifted from the Sunday *New York Times*, the sometime-socialist-turned-neocon court historian Judis describes the leaders of that publicized and exultant conservative movement now based in Washington. Power and originality are ascribed to these members of "Newt's gang," who will be close to the new Congress.

Taking off his thirty-five-year-old New Left hat for the one he wears as Marty Peretz's employee at the *New Republic*, Judis showcases what his boss would consider the nice opposition: e.g., Bill Bennett, Ed Feulner, John Fund, Ed Crane, and Ralph Reed (who by now has accepted Christian responsibility for both the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust).

These are the movers-and-shakers on the Right who can be counted on to "reach out." Unlike those who remain unmentioned, they do not deplore the Civil Rights

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Act of 1964 nor the Immigration Act of 1965. Defenders of the therapeutic state need not fear the members of this cosmetic Right. They are not the Buchananites, whom Judis does not discuss in *GQ*, but whom he has dutifully called anti-Semites in the pages of the *New Republic*.

The second approach to marginalizing the paleos consists of presenting the neocons' rivals on the Right as mere aesthetes, concerned more about theology and degrees of the Beautiful than about pressing political and economic issues. About ten years ago Irving Kristol and Brigitte Berger took up this criticism in *Commentary*: and for a while the neocon line seemed to be that the paleos were too otherworldly to be taken seriously. One could not discuss the modern world with those preoccupied with medieval essences; and as proof of this preoccupation, the neocons seized on passages from the collected speeches of Russell Kirk and Stephen Tonsor, two conservative Catholics said to represent the paleo worldview.

The problem with this approach is its transparent counterfactualness. For the most part, the paleos are better educated in the social sciences than their neocon critics. On the immigration question, for example, paleos Wayne Lutton and Larry Auster have routinely outdrawn the neocons' hired guns at the *Wall Street Journal* and that bookkeeper-featured-as-demographer Julian Simon. Contrary to the view of them as 13th-century artifacts, the paleos include trained economists and others who write with extensive knowledge about contemporary affairs.

On the other hand, the neocons have branched out from global democratic missionizing to take on kulchur. They have tried to embrace the Muses long enough to stamp them with their partyline. They have thrown themselves into aesthetic controversy and now finance their own certified art critics like Roger Kimball and Hilton Kramer. Far more than the paleos, who lack the financial resources to strike such poses, the neocons claim to speak for high culture.

The neocons have branched out from global democratic missionizing to take on kulchur.

Another approach which neocons and their liberal look-alikes have taken in relation to the real intellectual Right is to demonize it. Paleos belong in the fever swamps frenetically evoked in the diatribes of the Rev. R.J. Neuhaus. They are also the conservative nationalists reviving Nazi themes in David Frum's evaluation of the American Right.

It matters little whether neocons agree or disagree with a particular position taken by paleos. They attack them in any case as part of the "extreme Right" while cribbing from those they decry as extremists. This has been done quite successfully for more than a decade. Whenever the neocons tack to the right, as they are sometimes forced to do, they mimic the unnamed or slandered opposition. No one is given a hint about who else on the Right had spoken about those issues which the neocons appropriate, e.g., the genetic sources of intelligence, the need to abolish the welfare state (however that may be defined at a given time), and the managerial state's war against the family.

In the June 5 issue of the *New Yorker*, Sid Blumenthal illustrates another problem faced by the paleos. Though Blumenthal's subjects are those trying to subvert the Middle East peace process, he never says outright that it is the neocons who are spearheading this "Right."

As far as I know, paleos are not among the AIPAC extremists calling for the blood of Premier Rabin. It is not the John Randolph Club but the editors of *Commentary* and the *Wall Street Journal* who rage at the Israeli moderates. Nor is it Lew Rockwell but Norman Podhoretz and his circle who associate anti-Semitism with support for the present foreign policy of Israel. This in contrast to the older neocon line, taken when Likud was in power, that criticism of the Israeli government is tantamount to anti-Semitism. My own supposed failure to represent that older partyline cost me a graduate professorship at Catholic University when Podhoretz and his squadrons intervened against my appointment.

By now is old stuff, but I bring it up for one reason. Blumenthal and I have discussed this episode at length, and he has pointed out repeatedly that one should not "expect better of Stalinists." It is therefore surprising to find this sympathetic conversationalist of years past devoting only three lines to the

Rothbard-Rockwell Report (ISSN 1080-4420) is published monthly by the Center for Libertarian Studies, 875 Mahler Rd., Suite 150, Burlingame, CA 94010. (800) 325-7257. Second-Class Postage paid at Burlingame, CA 94010 and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to Rothbard-Rockwell Report, P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011. *Editors:* Murray N. Rothbard (1926–1995) and Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. *Contributing Editors:* Sarah Barton, David Gordon, Paul Gottfried, Michael Levin, and Justin Raimondo. *Publisher:* Burton S. Blumert. *Associate Publisher:* Daniel Rosenthal. *Managing Editor:* Sybil Regan. Subscription: $49 for 12 issues. Single issue: $5. Copyright ©1995 by the Center for Libertarian Studies. All rights reserved. Unauthorized reproduction of this newsletter or its contents by xerography, facsimile, or any other means is illegal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Stalinists" in his discussion of those inciting the U.S. government against Rabin.

Certainly Blumenthal does not spare blows in pummeling "Southern Baptist deacon" Jesse Helms or the Religious Right. But there are facts that Blumenthal prefers not to reveal. For example, that Religious Right leaders listen to neocon counsels, that Ralph Reed hangs out with Bennett and the Kristols, and that the Christian Coalition makes unmistakably neocon noises in reaching out to Jews, blacks, and Hispanics.

Is it, as Blumenthal claims, Republican desire to hold on to the 20% of the Jewish vote it now has which leads Gingrich and Dole to pander to the Israeli Right and to its American backers? Or are there other critical factors contributing to this pandering which Blumenthal does not dare mention? For example, cultivating the good will of neocon journalists who lean strongly toward the Israeli hardliners. And though Blumenthal tells us that Frank J. Gaffney and his Center for Security Policy have opposed the Arab-Israeli peace process, he then drops his subject. It would be nice to see stated what Blumenthal and I both know about the sources of Gaffney's wealth. Needless to say, it is not paleo bucks which cover the mortgage on his home or the rent for his center.

Allow me to suggest why Blumenthal and Judis do not dare use those files they as well as I have gathered over the years on the neocons. They reserve their fire, when they attack the "Right," for Christian conservatives; and even when they say things directly applicable to the neocons, make it appear as if the Right is generically at fault. Such critics, I would argue, are frightened by power. They know that the neocons can send them packing in a jiffy.

Judis might have to go back to hawking socialist tracts on the streets of Chicago if his neocon publishers ceased to enjoy his chatter. As for Blumenthal, there could be similar repercussions for insubordination at the *New Yorker*. John Lukacs, who offended the liberal-neocon editors there, became instantaneously persona non grata. One faux pas could end an even more lucrative association for a journalist without Lukacs's charm and learning. Thus Blumenthal treads softly on certain toes and follows the lead of his older friend Judis.

Note that Judis allowed compromising material on Bennett, which later appeared in my book, to be dropped from his portrait of the neocon eminence done for the *New Republic*. An even more ominous deletion took place in an essay he did on the drumbeating that preceded the Gulf War. Though Judis discovered that Bradley had disbursed large grants to the war party in Washington, represented by then Congressman Steve Solarz, this fact stayed out of a tepid report which he published in *Tikkun*.

Though not marginalized, Judis, Blumenthal, and the other left-liberals have been forced to live in the shadow of neocon tyranny. Like many deluded conservatives, they pretend they are voluntary members of a useful alliance. Like the movement conservatives of my acquaintance, Judis wants others to believe: "They don't hassle me!" But none of this is true.

A frequently heard complaint among those Sam Francis calls "beautiful losers" is that the neocons have "disappointed" them. Having invited the outlanders to break bread with them, the inviters have discovered that their guests are dishonest savages. They practice cannibalism upon their hosts, while insisting it is the victims who need the table manners.

Of course those who did the inviting may not have been entirely free in offering hospitality, and it is therefore silly for them to pretend that they were. Like the medieval Slavs during the Mongol invasion, the Old Right was overrun, and any attempt to confuse forced occupation with abused hospitality is self-deception.

Some, like William Buckley, helped open the gate to the invading horde and stood by simpering as they came in with swords unsheathed. But most of the beautiful losers were caught unawares and have tried to hide this fact ever since. Their captivity may end in the fullness of time, as the now marginalized paleos could find themselves leading a populist counterrevolution. Without being overly optimistic, one can present this as a reasonable hypothesis.

There is a growing gulf between the political and journalistic elites and most everyone else in the U.S., and the fallout may interfere with the neocons' continued subjugation of the Right. Events are already careening out of control, which will not help either the managerial state or its bogus opposition.

The "surprising" support for Buchanan reported in *Time* is not simply transferable to Bennett, Keyes, or some other neocon apparachik. These are expressions of support for the hard Right, given by those who have alternatives, which they have snubbed, on the respectable and reconstructed Right. They reflect the same disgust with therapeutic politics as the growing support being registered for counterrevolutionary populism in Europe.

This development is not occurring because the modern Mongols have retreated. The paleo Right can only take power by fighting for every inch of enemy-occupied terrain and by steeling itself against any impulse to compromise.■

Dr. Gottfried is professor of political philosophy at Elizabethtown College and author of the indispensable Conservative Movement *($18 postpaid from the* RRR*).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED